and if he is very powerful the husbands of his daughters may also reside with him. In such a man is at the zenith of his power, surrounded by a close group of elderly relatives, of his children and grandchildren. Relatives by marriage are also added to the family group. At the present time, for example, one Bella Coola man is looking after his brother's widow, and it is felt that she is a member of his family.

Another way in which a rich man can increase the size of his family is by adoption. Parents who have lost an infant often arrange to adopt the child of some member of the ancestral family of either father or mother. The matter is usually arranged soon after birth, and the transfer takes place immediately after weaning. The real parents are willing since they know that the adopting parents will be able to validate valuable prerogatives and names for the child, which they themselves are unable to do. Thus desire for their child's welfare overrules parental love. In such cases the real father or mother can likewise bestow names and other prerogatives on their child, so that it really becomes a member of two families. This is often done by an old couple whose own children have married and moved away, and who thus find themselves lonely. It is considered disgraceful for parents to allow their children to be adopted by anyone not a member of their ancestral family, since that would be an admission of inability to bring up a child in the path of its ancestors.

In the case of an orphan some wealthy relative is almost always ready to adopt the child. In this case as it grows up it is able to receive its full share of the ancestral origin myth, and the names embodied therein, in fact the loss of its own parents is of little consequence in the course of life. Occasionally it happens that a child is not adopted by relatives, in which case its fate is indeed hard. Ignorant of its ancestral names, and lacking the means to validate them if even someone should tell them to it, owning no hunting-grounds, the unfortunate infant is little better than a slave. This is almost unthinkable except in the extremely rare

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Disliked and degraded, of a mean disposition himself, none of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were nephews, would take him into their houses. Commenting on this man's fate, several of my informants pointed out how, in the old days, such a one could have found shelter in the house of any chief, and shared in the food which was being distributed at the almost continuous ceremonial feasts. Now, each family lives alone and no one feels any responsibility for this old man.

contingency of a child being left without relatives.

Children are not the only persons to be adopted. On the death of an adult his relatives may "adopt to replace" someone who has a striking facial resemblance to the deceased. Thus, some time after the death of his sister my informant was in Bella Bella and there saw a Bella Bella woman who closely resembled the deceased. He desired to adopt her, and being a man of importance, his wish was granted. TO legalize the transaction he distributed valuable presents among the Bella Bella, and thus incorporated the woman into his family. A person so adopted does not usually take up his or her abode with her adopted family, nor does he lose membership in his own. Instead, he becomes a member of two families, with full rights to names and prerogatives in both, is addressed by with the same kinship terms as if related by blood, and is likewise considered a member of the family as far as incest rules are concerned. In this particular instance the woman failed to show any interest in her adopted relatives, failed to visit them, or take part in their ceremonies, so that the adoption, though still legal, has practically lapsed. When my informant dies, his children will not consider the claims of their "sister" to inherit any of his possessions, as they would have done if she had showed herself interested in the affair.

It will thus be seen that the size and composition of the family varies according to the wealth and influence of the father. And accordingly the number of individuals who function as members of the family vary. Their duties are difficult to define since they concern almost entirely the routine duties of life. The father, head of the family, directs the gathering of fire-wood, repair of the house, obtaining of food supplies, and other matters of the same sort. If he gives a potlatch his children must help him, which they are willing to do on all occasions of that kind, since they gain from the ceremony. If a father is too autocratic, his older, especially his married children, simply move away. Nor is his power over his younger children unbounded since their mother's relatives take great interest in their welfare and would resent their ill-treatment.

If a person is killed or wounded, revenge is the affair of his family. Just how

many individualls are affected by this depends on the composition of the family. In the case of the death of a child, living with its parents alone, none butthe father would feel it incumbent to interfere. If an adult person is murdered his, or her, brothers are the ones who feel and avenge the insult. But should an important member of the community be slain, an old man surrounded by a numerous family, it is the affair of all. Every effort is made to slay the actual murderer, but if he should escape from the country, the injured party is satisfied by the killing of one of his family. Here again the same inexact composition governs. A man's son, brother, or father are the only persons strictly liable, and even here the common-sense of the Bella Coola outweigh their theoretical laws. A man's brother, living in another village than that of the murderer, would not be held liable. On the other hand, more distant relatives living with the offender and considered as his family are liable. It is very rare for a woman to be killed in a blood feud. A death is answered by a death, if two persons should be slain for one murder the family which had suffered the double loss endeavors to kill another of their enemies. In case of wounding, and effort is made to wound the offender, and if he should be killed his family would try to avenge him. More often, one of the offender's family takes the initiative of offering goods to the injured family, "to cure the wound." If the offer is accepted, and the goods delivered properly, the matter is at at an end. If a murder be committed within the ranks of the immediate family, for instance, if a brother kill a brother, revenge, if exacted, must be meted out to the actual offender, since it is obvious that otherwise the loss would fall equally on the injured party. If requested to do so, the leading chief of a village may offer his advice, but it is always considered that revenge is a matter that concerns only the immediate family.

Revenge is a topic which shows clearly the essential fluidity of the family. There are no well-defined degrees of relationship within which responsibility rests, instead everyone knows, in the open life of the community, how many persons share the family life of the individual, and it is they alone who are held to account, and they alone who demand compensation. From its very nature, the family must be a bi-lateral unit which, when powerful, stretches out to absorb members of the ancestral families of both mother and father.

Not only does the family appear constantly to be attracting to itself members of the ancestral family of either parent, but all of these are deeply interested in the affairs of the family. This is most clearly shown in the case of children who, of course, are members of the ancestral family of both their mother and father. A few days after birth some relative is expected to call together the people of the village where the child is born for the bestowal, and validification, of an ancestral name. It is considered an evidence of poverty if this is done by the father, as if his child were only supported by his parents, not by a larger circle of relatives. In Bella Coola itself it is considered absolutely immaterial whether this gathering is called by a relative of the father or the mother. In June 1922 a Bella Coola girl had reached the age of about six months without being given a name. There was much adverse criticism about the parsimony of her father's father and her mother's father, who were held equally to blame. In the old days anyone having the necessary wealth would be glad to perform such a rite, the failure of these two old men was due to their fear of the [illegible] law prohibiting the potlatch.

As a child grows older he is helped towards his first ceremonies not only by his parents, but by their brothers and sisters. In this, too, it is considered a mark of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his ancestral family, he has no hesitation in [illegible] favouring the children of either a brother or sister, since, like his own children, they are all members of the same ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit(1) it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children; not that there is any lack of knowledge of the real father, but rather as a mark of respect and kindly feeling paid by a man to his sister. Moreover, in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is most improper for a name which a man has raised to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much goods to be passed to an own child; it should go to a distant relative, and a man helping his child should do so with repsect to a long dormant name.

One aspect of the manner in which the family merges imperceptably into th an-

(1). According to an intelligent Bella Coola informant, a Bella Bella pays greater attention to the children of his brothers and sisters than to his own offspring, and expressed the opinion that the Kimsquit practice was due to Bella Bella influence. Kimsquit informants denied this, though emphasizing the important part taken by an [illegible]

cestral family can be seen in the inheritance of names. When a man calls his relatives together to make his will he is guided in the choice of recipients by the characteristics of his children. An able son receives much from his father, but if a man has only lazy children, he has no hesitation in slighting them. This is particularly true of ~~xxx~~ names with which are bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whereas, as has been previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the influence depends on the value of the goods distributed in connection with them, usually revert to the ancestral family and can be reerudesced by any~~xx~~ member of it. ~~Without~~ It seems needless to publish ~~xxxxxxxx~~ lengthy pedigrees, which illustrate the transmission of ancestral names, it will suffice to say that such sometimes pass from father to son, from a man to his brother's son, or his sister's son, from brother to sister, or father to daughter, or other relatives belonging to the immediate family. On the other hand, and with much the same frequency, names pass from a man to ~~xxxx~~ distant relatives ~~xx~~ of the same ancestral family.

Thus the Bella Coola family, important though it is in the life of the individual cannot be defined with exactitude either as regards composition or functions since it varies according to the importance of its head, and tends to merge in the ancestral families of the parents.

KINSHIP TERMS

In Bella Coola, as in so many parts of the world, kinship terms mirror the social life of the community. Accordingly, the Bella Coola system of nomenclature is not as clear-cut in its application as in other regions, making it necessary to enter into considerable explanations of the secondary uses of many of the terms. It will be seen that the system, although fundamentally founded on the family, yet presents many classificatory features. Whether these must be ascribed to an ancient clan system is most doubtful; a short discussion of this point will be found at the end of this section.

The terms are arranged in the following order. First, an individual's relatives of the preceding generation, then of the next preceding, with their parents, then of of the present generation, followed by terms for the generations following. Then come

relations by marriage.

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Father.	Tatao	Tata
	This term is properly used only by a small child, though often continued by an adult as a term of endearment.	Term used only by a small child.
	Man	Man
	Term used, rarely, by an adult ~~fmr~~ of either sex; ~~fm~~ tatao is more common. Man is often used by an adult when speaking to any old man as a courtesy title.	Used by an adult when speaking of a father.
Mother's husband.	Tatao	Tata
	Terms used by small children ,,,,.....	
	Man	Man imut
	Used by adult; more commonly tatao.	Used by adult.
Mother.	Mamao	Mama
	Used by baby.	Used by baby.
	Qamao	Qama
	Used by small child.	Used by small child.
	Stan	Stan
	Used by adults of either sex with same limitations as man.	
Father's wife.	Mamao or qamao	Mama or qama
	Used by small children.	
	Stan	Stan imut
	Used by adults, more commonly qamao.	Used by adults.

The application to step-parents of the terms usually limited to the own parents is merely a mark of endearment, without social significance.

4 Kinship

Reflect ~~of~~ bi-lateral family, but strong traces of an-
cient classif

Anomalies.

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Parent of either sex.	Alqwallaix lx	A matal xk
	These terms are used in respect for a parent x of either sex when old and feeble. Their use is a mark of courtesy.	
Father's brother.	Sisai, or by name, or alqwallaix lx	Sisi
Mother's brother.	" " "	"
Father's sister.	S sksom " "	S sksom
Mother's sister.	" " "	"
	If the family is so constituted that it contains more distant relatives of the generation preceding that of the speaker, for example, a father's father's brother's son, or a mother's mother's brother's daughter, the terms sisi and s sksom may be applied in courtesy to these individuals.	
Father's father.	Kukpai, or more commonly, tatao	Kukpi
Mother's father.	" " " " "	"
Father's mother.	Kikaao " " " gamao	Kika
	Especially when living together, children usually address their grandparents by the terms properly x reserved for the parents.	
Brother or sister of a grandparent.	Especially when living in the same family, are addressed as the grandparents. The terms are further widely applied to elderly members of the same ancestral family.	Waxwaxtsia Seldon used term; more commonly spoken of by name, or as grandparents.
Great grandparents.	As grandparents.	As grandparents.
Elderly male relatives spoken of collectively.		Mamanukts ts
Elderly female relatives spoken of collectively.		Stantan uts

Family

~~Difficult to elicit.~~

~~Education, training for potlatch, but chiefly magical~~

~~? Stability~~

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
		These two terms are only used with respect to a man's "power" through the possession of many elderly relatives.
Eldest brother or sister.	By name, or qwalam	Qwal m
Second oldest brother or sister.	By name	Aa ikn tā, or altsit ol i qwal m
Third oldest brother or sister.	" "	Otiik
Fourth oldest brother or sister.	" "	Qwaxv m
Youngest brother or sister.	" " or Saxinao	Saxi

At the present time the intermediate terms are rarely, if ever, used. Qwal m and saxi are continually employed, the former for a brother or sister older than the speaker, the latter for a brother or sister younger than the speaker. When it is necessary to indicate sex this is usually done by giving the person's name, or by the use of sex-denoting particles. The writer failed to collect these.

Only brother with several sisters.		n lkxata
Only sister with several brothers.		Aax n saxta
Son or sister, same father different mother.	By name, or qwalam or saxinao according to relative age.	Mwmaoi i mmao

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Step-brother or sister, same mother, different father.	By name, or qwalam or saxinao according to relative age.	Nunnaoi tei stanao
Father's brother's child, or Father's sister's child, or Mother's brother's child, or Mother's sister's child.	No distinction is made, either in direct or indirect address, between ortho- and cross-cousins. By name, or qwalam or saxinao. These terms, though properly reserved for brother and sister, are usually used for all cousins in direct address when an individual's name is not employed. The choice between qwalam and saxinao depends on the relative ages of the parents, not on the ages of the speakers. Theoretically, this should be traced back to the first settlement of this earth, so that, for example, an old man claiming descent from the younger of two brothers who first came to this earth, addresses a young girl descended from the elder, as qwalam. In consequence, there is often a choice in terminology. Thus a man calls his mother's father's elder brother's son either qwalam or sisai.	By name, or qwal m or saxi, or, rarely, the intermediate terms as used for brother or sister.

Sisi

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Members of the ancestral family, held to be of the same generation but more distantly related than first cousins.	When male addresses male or female addresses female ---- ---------- numaotao.	When male speaks of male or female speaks of female ---------- numao
	When male addresses female, or female addresses male ---------- sqolxn s.	When male speaks of female, or female speaks of male ---------- sqolxn s.

These terms are seldom used except on ceremonial occasions when the bond of ancient relationship is invoked, especially if assistance is needed in danger.

These terms are also applicable to first cousins.

The term most widely employed is the one for "friend" or "partner" and does not necessarily imply relationship. It is ---

Male relatives of the same ancestral family and generation as the speaker.	Satai	Sat x m lkaxta
Female relatives of the same ancestral family and generation as the speaker.		Xn santa
Child. Son, until twelve or thirteen years old.	M nao Tai, a term used for any small child, or by name. The use of the personal name becomes more frequent with increasing age.	M na m m lki

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Son, when adult.	By name, or dj tsluksi	By name or m lk (man).
Daughter, until twelve or thirteen years of age.	Tcai, a term of endearment used for any small girl, or by name. The use of the personal name becomes more frequent with increasing age.	Xnxnas i
Daughter, when adult.	By name; infantile term of endearment is also sometimes used.	By name.
Step-child.	Same as for own children.	
Brother's child or Sister's child.	Usually by same terms as own children, merely as a mark of endearment; also emts. Corresponding to the use of qwalam where sisai is strictly applicable, saxinao is sometimes used instead of emts.	Emts. Depending on the composition of the family, this term is frequently applied to the children of an emts if they form part of the family group.
Son's child or Daughter's child.	Usually as for own child, or by name, or slemtsakais. This last is merely the term for indirect address, with the endering suffix, kais.	Slemts
Descendants.		Tomidjut or slaxmidjut. Terms used rhetorically to describe a man with many descendants. The latter term means "many-ness."

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Family.		M ns nts; the ancestral family, those who claim descent from one group of ancestors, even though their exact relationship has been forgotten.
Husband.	Usually by name, or i kwt nsts tai, "my husband", or m lk, "man."	i kwt nsts tai or by name.
Co-husband, in a polyandrous household.	M xsai s	
Wife.	Usually by name, or ii xn s dsaix, "My xn s", woman.	By name, or ii xn s saix
Co-wife, in a polygamous household.	Quks	Quks
Wife's brother and the its reciprocal,	By name, or qulunis	Qulu s
Sister's husband (man speaking).	" "	"
Wife's sister, and the reciprocal,	St kao, or by name.	St kao
Sister's husband (woman speaking).	" "	"
Brother's wife (man speaking), and the reciprocal,	" "	"
Husband's brother.	" "	"
Brother's wife (woman speaking) and the reciprocal,	" "	"
Husband's sister.	" "	"

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Wife's father,	Sksai	Sksai
or		
Wife's mother,	"	"
and the reciprocal,		
Daughter's husband.	" or by name.	"
Husband's father,	"	"
or		
Husband's mother,	"	"
and the reciprocal,		
Son's wife.	" or by name.	"
Father's brother's wife.	Stan, stan imut, or (as a term of affection without social significance) s aksom.	Stan imut or toi xn s i sisi, "Wife of my sisi."
Mother's brother's wife.	Same as father's brother's wife.	
Father's sister's husband.	Man, man imut, or (as a term of affection without social significance) sisai.	Man imut or i kwt mets i s aksom, "Husband of my s aksom."
Mother's sister's husband.	Same as father's sister's husband.	
Brother's son's wife,	Same as son's wife.	Same as son's wife, or
or,		
Sister's son's wife.	" " " "	toi xn s i emts, "Wife of my emts."
Brother's daughter's husband,	Same as daughter's husband.	Same as daughter's husband, or i kwt mets i
or,		
Sister's daughter's husband.	" " " "	emts, "Husband of my emts."

Two anomalies must be mentioned. In case of adoption the kinship terms used are as if the adopted person were a blood member of the family. A child, particularly if regarded as the reincarnation (1) of a recently deceased deceased elderly relative, is often given the latter's name. In such a case the child is addressed by the kinship

(1) See page .

terms applicable to his name-sake. In recent years, at any rate, this application is without social significance, and, as far as the writer could learn, this has always been the case. Bella Coola sentiment is that it is fitting for a child to receive the name of one of its ancestors, and that when they see the child and think of his name, they think of the late deceased, hence it is natural to use kinship terms accordingly. This is more obvious where the child is regarded as a reincarnation, though even in such a case he does not receive any of the marks of respect paid to his name-sake, the reincarnation is physical, not social. In course of time the reincarnation is forgotten and the child takes his place among others of his own generation, though his reincarnation may be remembered in rhetorical speeches on ceremonial occasions.

The kinship system of the Bella Coola is clearly founded on the family, although it possesses many features of the classificatory system. The reciprocal terms for parents- and children-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law, lack of sex differentiation in the terms for brothers and sisters, and the importance of age in the terminology applied to persons of the same generation, are all features of the classificatory system. On the other hand, the bi-lateralism of the Bella Coola terminology, its failure to differentiate between cross- and ortho-cousins, and the unsystematic grouping of nephews and nieces show its "family", as opposed to classificatory, principles. Finally, the rhetorical terms for the ancestral family, for many ancestors, and many descendants, correspond to the importance of a large number of relatives in Bella Coola thought.

In many parts of the world the classificatory system of relationship is found where the community is divided into clans, or sibs. The occurrence of certain classificatory features among the Bella Coola raises the question of whether or not they should be regarded as survivals from an earlier clan, or sib, form of social organization. The Bella Coola may once have had clans, but the writer believes that their relationship system does not furnish any real evidence to this effect. The reciprocal terms really have the significance, " Relation by marriage of the same generation" or "of a generation once removed", a form of address which does not

require explanation in any ancient form of social organization. Moreover, the importance of the eldest child, as a potential transmitter of the glories of the ancestral family, is sufficient to account for the necessity of differentiating brothers and sisters in terms of their relative ages, though this feature suggests that in former times this was more important than it has been in the recent past. The writer does not imply that the Bella Coola never had a clan system, such may have been the case many generations ago, but he feels that their kinship terminology can be explained without that hypothesis. The somewhat wide application to cousins of terms which are properly limited to brothers and sisters may easily have been derived from a process of copying. The Bella Coola are well acquainted with the clan system of the northern coastal tribes, so that it is by no means inpossible, or unlikely, that they should have adopted certain features of nimenclature from them, and applied these terms to the members of their own ancestral families. Finally, the somewhat vague and unsystematic applications of terms to relatives according to whether or not they are members of the immediate family, is a feature not at all surprising in view of the essential fluidity of Bella Coola social organization.

SLAVES

Since a slave was (1) without status in the Bella Coola community, it is, perhaps, incorrect to include a description of slavery in a chapter on social organization. The writer's reason for so doing is that slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages so that it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units which formed the tribe. It was absolutely impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of the number of slaves in Bella Coola; the institution has been so long abandoned that none of the present natives could do more than hazard a guess. Basing his opinion on remarks made in the course of conversation by old men, the writer believes that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in

(1). One of the first, and most beneficial, effects of the white man's coming to British Columbia was the freeing of all slaves. Consequently the past tense is used in this section.

every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as 30 to 40% of the total population. It is obvious that such is no more than a rough estimate.

Slaves were obtained in three ways:—

CAPTIVES TAKEN IN WAR. When a war-party raided a village most of the inhabitants were slain, but some, especially children, ~~ex~~ young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. As far as the writer could learn once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

SLAVES OBTAINED BY PURCHASE. Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold. The Bella Coola were usually well provided with salmon, which they were able to exchange with the members of other tribes in exchange for slaves. The lack of strong chieftainship among the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category belong slaves obtained as presents at potlatches. If, however, a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was given as a slave to a Bella Coola, he was treated as a guest. Slaves were bartered between Bella Coola individuals as a matter of course. Their value depended on ~~their~~ sex, ability and industriousness, as well as the universal law of supply and demand. At times, when there was a glut on the market, the value of a slave fell to twenty or thirty salmon, but whenever an owner found that someone wished to purchase a particular slave he endeavoured to raise the price. If a foreigner borrowed ~~money~~ goods in Bella Coola he was usually forced to leave a relative as pledge. Thus, not many years ago, a X'mis Indian, from near Ootsa Lake, borrowed goods from a Kimsquit man and left his son as pledge. The goods were not returned, so the son was sold as a slave to the people of Kitimat.

SLAVES OBTAINED BY DEBT. Not only were slaves obtained from other tribes in war or trade, but it was not uncommon for a Bella Coola to lose his freedom by gambling. At "lehal" especially, a player who had exhausted his goods not infrequently wagered his children, or in extreme cases, himself. If he lost, his children or himself be-

came the slaves of the winner. Unless speedily repurchased by some relative of the loser, they were usually sold at ~~xxxxxx~~ or given away the first opportunity to the member of a foreign tribe, since it was considered improper for a man to hold another Bella Coola as a slave. The same course of action was taken on those rare occasions when one Bella Coola village fought against its neighbour and prisoners were taken.

TREATMENT AND STATUS OF SLAVES

To the Bella Coola, who still considers a man's "power" in the land as dependent to a considerable extent on his ~~family~~ ancestral myth, a slave's greatest misfortune lay in the fact that he had no ancestral home, and hence no rights in Bella Coola. He was a stranger in a strange land, unsupported by a chain of ancestors reaching back to the beginning of time. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ On the whole, captives taken in war were better treated than other slaves since it was felt that such a misfortune might occur to anyone at any time. ~~Slaves~~ Prisoners of war were frequently ransomed by their friends, a further cause for their preferential treatement. A Bella Coola who had been enslaved and ransomed had to undergo a cleansing ceremony ~~x~~ to remove the taint of slavery before he could take part in the ceremonies of the community. It was impossible to learn the details of ~~this~~ rite.

" No slaves came to earth with the first people," said the Bella

A master had complete power over a slave, unaffected by the force of public opinion since the affairs of a slave, being without relatives, were of no consequence to anyone. Accordingly, the lot of a slave depended on the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ character of his master, and ~~x~~ on his own ability and industry. ~~For~~ A Bella Coola valued an industrious slave, such a one would not be traded on sold except through dire necessity, and in course of years he became, as far as actual treatment was concerned, one of the family. ~~T~~ Frequently ~~xxxx~~ masters gave their slaves kusiut dance prerogatives, expending large sums for the purpose, and cases have been known of a slave having been made a member of the s sack In such a case the slave might become an influential member of the community, though the fact that he was a slave was never forgotten. On the other hand a master had not the slightest compunction about beating a lazy slave, and could kill such a one if he so desired. ~~But~~ None of the present Bella Coola have heard of such a case, since it was considered more sensible to sell or give away an unsatisfactory slave. It was accepted as a matter of course that

a master should provide his slaves with food and clothing, while anything produced or obtained by a slave belonged to his master. A slave owner had in the case of female slaves a master had full rights to over his female slaves, and unquestionably exercised those rights to a considerable extent. The only restraints were the jealousy of his own wife, or wives, and the feeling that it was undignified for a free man to demean himself. The writer was unable to learn, with even approximate accuracy, how much intercourse used to take place between masters and slaves. Probably not a great deal, though there must have been a considerable amount of free dom of relations between slave women and the young men of the community, unrestrained by the pride of a chief. But once a slave had been faithful for a number of years and had become almost a member of the family, his master would try to arrange his marriage with some female slave, and once this had taken place, the actual treatment meted out to a slave, or a slave woman, differed only slightly from that shown to a member of the family. The writer believes that formerly it would have been difficult for a stranger to tell married slaves from the mebers of the Bella Coola community until he had been long enough in the country to understand more than appeared on the surface.

Marriages between Bella Coola menand slave women were not infrequent, while like partnerships between slave men and even the daughters of chiefs were not unknown. If a Bella Coola man lived with a slave woman and she became pregnant In such cases the status of the children depended on the performance of ceremonies to wash from them the stain of their slave blood. While the mother was pregnant her husband would call guests, not only from his own village, but from foreign tribes as well. Presents were given, according to the wealth of the donor, often aided by his immediate family, to "wash the child." Such ceremonies would be repeated several times during pregnancy, and again at the birth of the child. Bella Coola sentiment was that such presents gagged the recipients; they knew of the dishonourable ancestry of the child, but having received presents on his account had wiped away the disgrace. Such a child was able to inherit prerogatives from his mother's old home, duly validated in Bella Coola by valuable gifts, and by his lavish gifts could silence those who remembered the blot on his ancestry. Similar procedure was carried out if a Bella Coola woman married a

slave. Unless already owned by one of her family, the woman's father or brother would arrange to purchase her husband. Them, aided by him, they would give the same type of presents to clear the children from the taint of slavery. But if the Bella ~~Coola~~ this was not done the children had only the status of slaves, though, born and brought up in Bella Coola and associating from infancy with the Bella Coola, they were virtually considered one of the family.

"Washing the child", during pregnancy and at birth, sufficed to cover the taint on its history, but in later years if such a person failed to continue to give ceremonies, people would again talk of his disabilities. So, too, for a child or grandchild of a mixed Bella Coola-slave marriage. ~~M~~ As long as such a one maintains a position of importance in the community by the distribution of presents, nothing is said, but if he should fail to do so, he could be, and frequently was, insulted by having references made to his slave ancestry. In case of dispute or rivalry it was always a temptation to refer to a man's slave ancestry, but if he had atoned for it with presents, references were considered improper. Unquestionably, memory of slave ancestry was forgotten in the course of several generations if the line was influential, although recollections of the stigma were always carried for at least two or three generations. When the writer was in Bella Coola the most influential woman, the one who had given most presents, was thegranddaughter of a ~~xxxxx~~ Smith's Inlet slave. This man lived in Bella Coola for many years and was married to another slave, by whom he had a son. The latter became the husband of an influential Stu x woman. When she became pregnant her family secured the liberation of her husband, and gave many presents to "wash the child". One daughter was born to this couple, the woman just mentioned. Not only were her mother's relatives influential, but her father was such an expert canoe-maker that he was able to win an honourable position for his daughter by presents of his handicraft. The woman, possessed of considerable ability herself, has been able to give many ceremonies and so reach a position of eminence. No one would dare insult her by mentioning her slave ancestry, but ~~xxx~~ everyone knew about it and if her children should fail to ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ hold their position, they would be open to insult on this score. The woman has validated names and myths derived both from her mother and father, without explaining how Smith's

Inlet myths came to Bella Coola.

To sum up, it may be said that the position of slaves in Bella Coola was not a particularly onerous one, though it depended entirely on the will of their masters. Without status in the community, a slave could have been abused by a cruel owner, though the public life of the village, where all lived and ate togther, tended to break down the unsystematically enforced differences of rank.